

## Message Text

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43

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EA-11 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAJ-01 IO-14 NIC-01 DRC-01 SCI-06 /135 W

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R 261008Z SEP 74

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2037

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 2707

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, HU, CH

SUBJ: CHINESE VIEWS ON EE DEVELOPMENTS

1. DURING CONVERSATION SEPT. 24 WITH EMBASSY OFFICER, NORMALLY RETICENT CHINESE FIRST SECRETARY MADE FOLLOWING COMMENTS RE HUNGARIAN INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION, KADAR VISIT TO MOSCOW, AND SOVIET OBJECTIVES IN HUNGARY.

2. CHINESE BELIEVE SOVIET UNION SEEKS CLOSER CONTROL OF HUNGARIAN SITUATION DUE TO "SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF HUNGARY" RESULTING FROM POWER REALIGNMENT IN ME, POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN MBFR, "VERY CRITICAL PERIOD WHICH WILL OCCUR AFTER TITO'S DEATH", AND TO LESSER EXTENT MOST RECENT EVENTS IN CYRPUS.

3. SAID KADAR IS GREATLY DISTURBED BY REMOVAL OF NYERS AND ACZEL, BY IMPENDING REMOVAL OF FOCK, AND BY OTHER MULTIFARIOUS PERSONNEL CHANGES WHICH ARE "CERTAIN TO OCCUR". CHINESE BELIEVE KADAR WILL NOT ACCEPT THESE PERSONNEL

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CHANGES ENGINEERED BY MOSCOW AND IS THREATENING TO REFUSE

TO CARRY ON UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES. SOVIETS, WHILE DETERMINED TO MAKE PERSONNEL CHANGES DESIGNED TO GIVE THEM GREATER CONTROL AND "PRODUCE MORE RELIABLE AND ORTHODOX REGIME", DO NOT WISH KADAR TO LEAVE HUNGARIAN SCENE. RATHER THEY PREFER TO KEEP HIM AT FIGUREHEAD POSITION AS PARTY PRESIDENT TO PRESERVE APPEARANCES, KNOWING FULL WELL THAT ONLY KADAR CAN MAINTAIN DELICATE BALANCE OF HUNGARIAN POLITICAL FORCES IN SOME SORT OF HARMONY.

4. CHINESE FIRST SECRETARY PLAYED DOWN CONVENTIONAL OPINION THAT SOVIET OBJECTIVE OF TIGHTER CONTROL OVER HUNGARY IS RESPONSIVE TO EAST GERMAN, CZECH AND THEIR OWN APPREHENSIONS ABOUT UNDULY LIBERAL INTERNAL ECONOMIC SITUATION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT IN CHINESE VIEW, WHILE METHODS USED UNDER NEM WERE SOURCE OF CONCERN TO SOVIETS, MILITARY/STRATEGIC CONDITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH INTERNATIONAL SITUATION LOOMED LARGEST IN SOVIET THINKING, LEADING THEM TO CONCLUSION THAT THEY MUST NOW CONTROL AS MANY POWER LEVELS AS POSSIBLE WITHIN INTERNAL HUNGARIAN SYSTEM.

5. CHINESE THEN BROUGHT UP "THE OVER 400 SOVIET OVER-FLIGHTS" OF THIS PAST SUMMER. WHEN EMBASSY OFFICER OFFERED OPINION THAT THESE WERE TOURIST FLIGHTS FROM EAST GERMANY TO BULGARIAN BLACK SEA COAST, CHINESE SAID WITH BROAD SMILE THAT THERE IS NO WAY SO MANY EAST GERMANS COULD BE FLYING TO BULGARIA. MOST OF THEM, HE DECLARED, TOOK THE BUS. HE CONTINUALLY INSISTED THAT THESE WERE SOVIET MILITARY FLIGHTS, DECLARING AT ONE POINT THAT "ROMANIANS WOULD HAVE BEEN FIRST TO TELL US THAT THESE WERE TOURIST FLIGHTS BUT INSTEAD SEEMED TOTALLY IGNORANT ABOUT THEM". SAID NO TROOPS WERE FERRIED ON THESE PLANES AND CLAIMED THAT SOVIETS' MAIN PURPOSE WAS MASS DEMONSTRATION OF FORCE WITH POLITICAL LESSONS TO BE LEARNED BY ALL CONCERNED.

6. AT CLOSE OF CONVERSATION, RETURNING TO INTERNAL HUNGARIAN POLITICAL AFFAIRS, EMBASSY OFFICER OFFERED OPINION THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT FINAL OUTCOME OF DEVELOPMENTS WOULD BE KNOWN UNTIL 11TH PARTY CONGRESS IN MARCH. CHINESE DEMURRED, SAYING "WE SHOULD KNOW CONFIDENTIAL

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WITHIN 30 DAYS AFTER KADAR GETS BACK". CHINESE ARE BETTING NEMETH WILL REPLACE KADAR AND THAT ONLY QUESTION TO BE SETTLED IN MOSCOW IS WHETHER KADAR CAN BE PERSUADED TO REMAIN IN A FIGUREHEAD POSITION.

7. COMMENT: ADMITTEDLY, MUCH OF WHAT CHINESE SAYS IS SELF-SERVING. HOWEVER, MUCH OF IT FITS IN WITH SUBCURRENT OF HUNGARIAN OPINION THAT KADAR IS NOT WILLING TO TAKE

SOVIET PERSONNEL MANEUVERS LYING DOWN AND THAT HE IS  
GOING TO MOSCOW TO FIGHT BACK AND RE-ESTABLISH HIS  
POSITION. THIS IS SUPPORTED BY STORIES WE GET FROM  
VARIOUS HUNGARIAN SOURCES THAT BOTH NYERS AND ACZEL "ARE  
FIGHTING LIKE LIONS" TO PRESERVE THEIR POLITBURO POSITIONS  
AT UPCOMING PARTY CONGRESS AND THAT NO ONE, LEAST OF ALL  
KADAR AND ACZEL, SHOULD BE COUNTED OUT YET. INCIDENTALLY,  
CHINESE FIRST SECRETARY HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN HUNGARIAN  
AFFAIRS FOR 14 YEARS, TWO AS STUDENT, FOUR AS SECOND  
SECRETARY  
IN PRC EMBASSY HERE, FOUR IN FONOFF, AND NOW  
FOUR MORE AS FIRST SECRETARY.  
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